1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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indicate that women are not too eager to bear children, that men are more eager for offspring than their wives. When I asked Fantan the interpreter about this, he said, "We men are the ones who want children. Our wives don't. They just want to sleep with us. After a young man has lived with his wife for a year or two and she does not become pregnant, he is angry. He says, 'I work and work every night. I break my back, but this woman does not conceive. I had better look for another wife.'" That this was not a personal aberration of Fantan's was evidenced by confidential statements made to me by three young men who were dissatisfied at their wives' lack of fertility.

The care of infants by men and boys and their affectionate attitudes toward babies have already been mentioned. Supporting the thesis that women are often less eager for children than men, were frank statements by two older women that they had committed abortions during their first pregnancies to spite their husbands, who were buying other wives. The low level of nurturing qualities in Atimelangers is reflected in the absence of pets, with the exception of an occasional piglet, which has wealth value.

A further sociologic point that may have considerable weight is that neither men nor women are considered fully adult until they have children. Adulthood for men means financial status and a role in the prestige system, whereas for women it carries no such social premium; their life pattern is set in childhood and continues through life with only marriage as a break, and marriage per se does not confer adult status.

This subject of children and the wish for them—as well as such indications as I have that men prize them as much, if not more, than women—is far from exhausted, and there is some contradictory evidence. For instance, if women are generally reluctant to bear children, it is unlikely that questions on vital statistics put to sixteen women past the menopause would give 7.5 pregnancies per woman, and that miscarriages and abortions were only 10.5 per cent of one hundred and twenty-one recorded conceptions for these sixteen women. Here, of course, social disapproval of contraception and abortion may have acted as a deterrent.

JEALOUSY

That men are not incapable of jealousy toward their children is nicely illustrated by the episode in the autobiography of Kolmani the Seeress in which Langmai, her husband, reproaches her for neglecting her field work in favor of their child. In this connection, and in contradiction to some of the preceding data that have stressed the men's desire for children, it should be noted that there were in the community

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two monogamous and apparently devoted middle-aged couples who, never having had children of their own, each adopted an orphan.

Before we can weave all these sexual attitudes into some sort of functional coherence, a few comments must be made on the subject of jealousy. That men are jealous of their wives' behavior both before and after marriage is obvious from what has already been said. Adultery is punishable by death, although a husband is most often satisfied with a fine, and the male culprit usually moves away until the trouble is forgotten. The most extreme cases of male vengeance for adultery are to be found in the latter part of Malelaka's autobiography.

There are a number of devices for magically securing or keeping the love of a desired person. As might be anticipated, they all deal with food. A woman who wishes to keep the love of her husband can do so by putting into the bottom of the food pot shreds of her loincloth, clippings of pubic or axillary hair, or clippings of her nails. Certain plants too have the same effect. When the man breathes the steam of the food into which tiny bits of the proper plant have been dropped, he thinks thereafter of no one but the woman who cooked the food.

Men are supposed to know of certain roots, pieces of which, carried in the bottom of their areca baskets, will give them luck both in wealth and in sex quests. Also, diamond- and lizard-shaped figures are cut by men from the crisp, thin sheath that grows out of some bamboo joints. These talismans (*tadialang*) are hung by a bit of string from the house eaves so that they wave in the wind. Their waving is supposed to beckon either women or wealth, depending on the wish expressed by the maker. Certainly never more clearly does the wealth, food, and sex linkage come out than in these love charms.

Jealousy on the part of women has direct cultural outlets and aggressive expression. When a man takes a second wife, for example, it is considered good form for the first one to quarrel about it. As might be expected, these quarrels are often phrased in terms of property. The first wife will ask how a man can afford to pay a bride-price on another woman when he has paid so little on her. Or she will claim that the pigs he has given for a second wife were in large part raised by herself, which may be true, and that she does not want them so disposed of. She does not have theoretic claim on flesh food, but in practice she may insist, quite rightly, on her interest in it.

After a few reproaches of this sort the first wife seeks out the second. They exchange insults for a time and then begin pulling, tugging, and beating at each other. Immediately all the women of the village become involved. Each wife has a certain number of belligerent allies, and in